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rate of £1,775 7s 5d in 1842 and £2,520 8s 5½d in 1843.⁵⁷ The rate varied from 1s 3d to 2s ½d in the pound across the thirteen electoral divisions. In 1843 they spent £1,332 18s 7¾d on 725 inmates, but at any time there were only about 250 paupers in the workhouse which could accommodate 600.⁵⁸ On 31 July 1845 the workhouse contained 245 persons of whom fifty-nine were aged, infirm or disabled, fifty-two were able bodied and 134 'other classes', all maintained at a cost of 1s 7½d each per week.⁵⁹ Although there were no Protestant inmates, a Protestant chaplain was provided at a salary of £20 per annum, later reduced to £10.⁶⁰ By 1846 the guardians were building a sixty-bed fever hospital, but only three people had been treated for fever in 1845.⁶¹ In the same year the union was divided into seven vaccination districts but only one doctor agreed to the fee of 1s per vaccination for the first 200 and 6d a case thereafter.⁶² The Callan Union worked satisfactorily until the famine when desperate people, trying to gain admittance, overwhelmed the workhouse's capacity to cope.⁶³

Conclusion

Callan had a relatively good medical infrastructure in the immediate pre-famine era. There was a dispensary and four doctors, at least one of whom trained medical students. However, it is difficult to know how many of the six thousand inhabitants of the Liberties (Barony after 1836) of Callan ever saw a doctor, as most people seemed to rely on folk medicine rather than 'official' medicine. In either case whether people got better or not probably had more to do with luck and the natural history of their problem rather than any intervention by a practitioner, official or folk. The community came together in the face of cholera and put some good public health measures in place, but still many people died from what was to them a frightening and mysterious disease. Medicine was also a pawn in the battle for control of local institutions, which would slowly but irrevocably pass from landlord domination to elected democratic control as the century progressed.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Pierce Grace is a surgeon at University Hospital Limerick. He has written several articles on medical and social history and has an MA in local history from the University of Limerick.

⁵⁷ Appendices A. to C. to the *Tenth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners* H.C.1844 [589], xix, 279.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 289.

⁵⁹ *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords* H.L. 1846 (694)(694-II)(694-III), xi, 1446.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 441; *Ibid.*, 786. Rev Mr Lett protested that Protestant inmates would be prevented from coming to the workhouse if his services were dispensed with. In 1844 the Poor Law Board in London adjudicated fixing his salary at £10 on the understanding that the inmates could go to church.

⁶¹ Appendices to the *Twelfth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners* H.C.1846 [745], xix, 68.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 125.

⁶³ Patrick Lydon 'The restoration of Callan workhouse 2011 to infinity' in *Callan 800*, 298-313.

THE EUROPEAN TRAVELS OF DOROTHEA LADEVEZE ADLERCRON (NÉE ROTHE), c. 1827-54*

ANGELA BYRNE

In c. 1827-54, Dorothea and John Ladeveze Adlercron of Moyglare, Co. Meath, and their children made prolonged tours of France, Switzerland and Italy. Dorothea (1800-79) was daughter of Abraham George Rothe (1768-1846) of Kilkenny. Detailed documentary evidence of the family's tours survives in their diaries and passports. A heretofore unstudied example of Irish women's travel writing, Dorothea's diaries raise the question of identity formation during overseas travel, and offer an alternative perspective on the traditional 'grand tour'.

Introduction: family background and context

This article examines the European travels and travel diaries of Dorothea Ladeveze Adlercron (1800-79) and John Ladeveze Adlercron (1782-1852) of Moyglare, Co. Meath.¹ Dorothea was daughter of Abraham George Rothe of Kilkenny (1768-1846) and Anne Salisbury (d. 1842).² As a young bachelor, John travelled widely in Europe, Scandinavia, the Middle East and Russia. He and Dorothea married in Dublin on 24 February 1821,³ and had addresses at Fitzwilliam Square and at Moyglare. From about 1827 until the early 1850s, John and Dorothea travelled regularly to France, Switzerland and Italy with their children. Detailed documentary evidence of the family's

* A version of this paper was delivered to the Maynooth Local History Society on 11 May 2009.

¹ Relatively little is known of the Ladeveze Adlercron family of Moyglare, Co. Meath, despite their having been fairly affluent landholders in Ireland and the USA. The family vault at All Saints' Church in Moyglare, Co. Kildare commemorates twelve family members, including John Ladeveze Adlercron and his son, George Ladeveze Rothe Adlercron (1834-84). John's parents were John Adlercron (1749-82) and Meliora Bermingham; his paternal grandfather was General John Adlercron (1712-66), who was in command of the first British regiment to be sent to India in 1755.

² George Dames Burtchell, 'The family of Rothe of Kilkenny (continued)' in *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, vol. 7, no. 68-9 (1887), 620-54, here 653.

³ Parish of St George, Dublin, marriage registers, available at www.irishgenealogy.ie.

tours survives in their diaries and in passports issued in various European cities.⁴ While Dorothea's husband, John, and son, George, also kept travel diaries, this article focuses on Dorothea's three travel accounts, which have never before been studied. Her diaries reveal much about identity formation during overseas travel, and present the 'grand tour' from an alternative perspective, rather than the dominant image of a young gentleman traveller. This article suggests that the 'grand tour' as undertaken by the Ladeveze Adlercrons and other Irish and Anglo-Irish families held recognised educational and socio-cultural attractions, as well as offering less obvious formative opportunities.

Travel and the Irish/Anglo-Irish middle and upper classes

From the middle of the eighteenth century, foreign travel became a favourite pursuit of the middling and upper classes across Europe, and travel literature became one of the most popular genres of writing in English. Travelogues went into multiple editions and extracts from the most popular were republished in magazines and journals such as *The Gentleman's Magazine* (published 1731–1922). The functions and purposes of travel were debated in pamphlets and books, such as Richard Hurd's *Dialogues on the uses of foreign travel; considered as a part of an English gentleman's education* (Dublin, 1764) and Thomas Nugent's *The grand tour* (London, 1749). The advantages of travel were broadly considered to include the attainment of knowledge, 'civility', a cosmopolitan perspective, and foreign languages – to 'enrich the mind with knowledge, to rectify the judgement, to remove the prejudices of education, to compose the outward manners, and in a word form the complete gentleman.'⁵ The perceived risks were drawn from twin concerns of morality and identity, including corruption resulting from liberation from normal social constraints and the adoption of affected preferences for foreign manners, customs, and dress. Despite such concerns and criticisms, however, by the early nineteenth century travel in Western Europe had become *de rigueur* for the educated and the socially aspirational. From the mid-eighteenth century, the Irish and Anglo-Irish middle and upper classes were to be found travelling along the traditional 'grand tour' routes in France and Italy, and making short trips to take healing waters at cities like Spa in Belgium.⁶ The French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars reduced the number of British and Irish visitors to the Continent, but a small number chose to

⁴ These passports operated much like present-day visas; the traveller applied to the embassy for permission to travel to a particular city or cities, thereby obtaining a document containing their personal information and physical description.

⁵ Thomas Nugent, *The grand tour* (London, 1749), quoted in James Buzard, *The beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture 1800–1918* (Oxford, 1993), 98.

⁶ See the published lists of visitors to Spa (1750–98), available online at <http://swedhs.org/visiteurs/index.html>. See also Angela Byrne, 'Les voyageuses irlandaises à Spa au XVIIIe siècle', and Liam Chambers, 'Les confessions au carrefour: Catholiques et protestants irlandais à Spa au XVIIIe siècle' in Daniel Droixhe (ed.) with Muriel Collart, *Spa, carrefour de l'Europe des Lumières. Les hôtes de la cité thermale au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2013), and Toby Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland: the Irish Protestants, 1649–1770* (New Haven, 2004), 312–44.

travel in Scandinavia or Russia instead.⁷ The re-establishment of peace on the Continent in 1815, together with improvements in transportation and advances such as steam travel from the 1820s, made Continental travel more appealing and accessible. From the 1830s onwards Continental travel became available to a broader demographic of British and Irish people, perhaps encouraged to travel by the increasing publication of travelogues and modern guidebooks such as the Baedeker (published in English from 1861). Such guidebooks facilitated shorter (and therefore more affordable) itineraries by helping travellers to plan efficient routes, prioritise their sightseeing, and find suitable accommodation.⁸ By the time the Ladeveze Adlercron family made their succession of tours of Western Europe, travel was within reach of more than just the most elite members of society. That said, the Ladeveze Adlercrons travelled much more frequently than was the norm for most British and Irish families of similar social standing. Despite gradual decreases in the cost and time involved in travel, it still remained a privilege. Not that the family were heedless in their spending; Dorothea noted in her diary the cost of the more expensive hotels and apartments in which they stayed, and occasions when they left a hotel due to its high cost, or successfully bargained for a lower price.

While extant diaries and passports can be pieced together to form a picture of the family's movements over four decades, the driving force behind their repetitive and prolonged European tours remains elusive. The Ladeveze Adlercrons held land in Ireland and the USA, and John had passed the bar in Dublin in 1801, but no business or professional interests in Europe have as yet come to light. While the family were, of course, largely absent from Ireland in the 1830s and 1840s, they continued to be referred to as 'of Moyglare' into the 1880s.⁹ If nothing is known of this family's particular reasons for making so many tours of France, Italy and Switzerland, some further context can at least be provided by considering the general appeal of those countries.¹⁰ France and Italy had been extremely popular destinations for travellers since the establishment of the 'grand tour' as a rite of passage for wealthy young Europeans in the seventeenth century. France was also the most convenient point of entry to the Continent for British and Irish travellers. By the mid-1780s, French customs officials recorded 40,000 British visitors entering the Continent through French ports annually.¹¹ Italy was equally a respected destination as France; from a cultural and educational perspective, its Classical Roman heritage was highly regarded, as were the Italian and French languages themselves. Dorothea was a lover of art and architecture, and devoted most of her time in Rome to

⁷ See Angela Byrne, 'The Irish in Russia, 1690–1815: travel, gender and self-fashioning', unpublished PhD thesis, National University of Ireland Maynooth, 2009.

⁸ James Buzard, 'The grand tour and after (1660–1840)', in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds), *The Cambridge companion to travel writing* (Cambridge, 2002), 48–9.

⁹ Such as a reference to John Ladeveze, b. 1872 (thanks to Rita Walters); and obituary of George Ladeveze Rothe Adlercron (*The Times*, 1 Jan. 1885).

¹⁰ For an overview of the 'grand tour', see Jeremy Black, *The British abroad: the grand tour in the eighteenth century* (New York, 1992), and Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the grand tour: the British in Italy, c.1690–1820* (Cambridge, 2012).

¹¹ T.C.W. Blanning, *The culture of power and the power of culture* (Oxford, 2002), 130.

visiting churches, museums, galleries, and artists' studios. Her detailed descriptions of these excursions bring life and colour into her diary, removing focus from the privations of travelling, the early morning starts and rough Mediterranean crossings, onto the joys of discovering a celebrated ancient city and its treasures. She took great pleasure in attending the Anglican Church in Rome, not only as an opportunity for a devoted woman to practice her faith, but also to meet other Irish and British travellers who had gone south for winter. While she spent most of her time in Rome socialising and indulging in her passions for art and architecture, she considered the city's 'remains of ancient grandeur' its greatest attraction.¹² Despite her admiration for Rome's historic treasures, she wrote that she would never choose to live there, as 'it always gives me the idea of uncleanness and sadness and there is decidedly a something in the air there which oppresses the spirits and disposes the heart to melancholy'.¹³ However, she later lamented the absence of city comforts – one small hotel en route to Naples had no milk for the family's tea; after waiting for two hours, they 'had the pleasure of hearing that tho they sent 4 miles into the country for it, there was none to be had so were forced to take our tea without any; we sigh for some good tea!! such is the fate of travellers – one night every luxury, the next tea without milk and all such other little miseries'.¹⁴

Switzerland did not become a popular destination until the later eighteenth century, when its spectacular mountain scenery came to appeal to emerging Romantic sensibilities. Guesthouses appeared on the mountains themselves from the 1810s, with the emergence of mountaineering as a sport. However, it was only after the 1850s that new railways made the mountains accessible to greater numbers of travellers. The Ladeveze Adlercrons enjoyed the society of a number of other Irish and British families during their time in Switzerland, before the advent of mass travel to that country, such as a 'Mr and Mrs Kennedy and their 3 nice little boys'.¹⁵ Dorothea very much enjoyed the journey through the sublime scenery of the Jura Mountains, allowing the dramatic backdrop to remove her attention from the often rustic accommodation. The following is a typical journal entry:

Left our miserable resting place at as early an hour as possible. To my horror the mice seemed to have had a *soirée* in our room so you may judge how agreeably we passed the night but again en route we soon forgot our troubles, so enchanted were we all with the continued succession of sublime mountain scenery which was presented to our view during the whole of this day's journey.¹⁶

She compared the foothills of the Jura Mountains to Killarney (indicating that she had

¹² National Library of Ireland (NLI), MS 3764, Dorothea Ladeveze Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland in 1842 and 1844, 24 Oct. 1842.

¹³ NLI MS 3764, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland, 25 Oct. 1842.

¹⁴ NLI MS 3764, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland, 24 Oct. 1842.

¹⁵ NLI MS 3764, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland, 11 Oct. 1842.

¹⁶ NLI MS 3763, Dorothea Ladeveze Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France and Switzerland in 1828, 26 May 1828.

travelled at least a little in Ireland): 'to give you some little idea of it Killarney and Killkee mountains are something of it in miniature but the former has more of the romantic and the other of wild scenery'.¹⁷ A fan of the mountain scenery so celebrated in Romantic art and literature, Dorothea much preferred Italy to France, writing in south-east France that '*la belle France* as far as my experience goes is the most unpicturesque land I know of – *s'est [sic] pourquoi* I have less pleasure in travelling thro it than thro any other country'.¹⁸ However, as they scoured the area surrounding Geneva and Lausanne for a rental home in 1828, Dorothea's nerves suffered with the steep inclines of the mountains.¹⁹ Conversely, during the 1844 tour, she turned to the sublime scenery of Italy to elevate her spirits following her eldest son's death, writing: 'I always liked nature in her most sublime form ... the grand the awful the sublime raises my thoughts and feelings above this earth and consequently brings me nearer to him'.²⁰ Contemporary thinkers also noted the transcendental experience and elevation of thought coincident with mountaintops, such as Waldo Emerson: "Everyone must know the feeling of triumph and pride which a grand view from a height communicates to the mind."²¹ Dorothea never referred specifically to them in her diaries, but it is likely that she had read the poetry of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron and Shelley, which celebrated Alpine beauty as paradigmatic of the sublime.

Itineraries

Written accounts remain extant for John's Russian journey of 1806–7;²² the family's travels in France, Italy and Switzerland in 1828, 1842, and 1844; a tour of the Low Countries and German states made by the family in 1846–7;²³ and a tour of Switzerland made by Dorothea and George in 1854 (two years after John's death),²⁴ but they did make many other journeys (see *Table*). Extant diaries, passports, and other documents can be pieced together to pin the family to certain places at certain times. It is likely that the family may have returned to Ireland between some of their journeys, but this is not documented. John travelled a lot before his marriage – as well as his travels in Eastern Europe and the Middle East, he was in France and Italy in 1816–17. An Italian passport was issued to him at Paris in June 1816, and a French passport places him in

¹⁷ NLI MS 3763, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France and Switzerland, 26 May 1828. Dorothea's sister, Anne Salisbury, and brother-in-law, Samuel White, lived at Killakee House near Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin. The house is no longer extant. The 'Killkee mountains' referred to by Dorothea are probably the Wicklow Mountains.

¹⁸ NLI MS 3764, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland, 6 Oct. 1842.

¹⁹ NLI MS 3763, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France and Switzerland, 29 May 1828.

²⁰ NLI MS 3764, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland, 26 May 1844.

²¹ Waldo Emerson, 1860, quoted in Andrew Beattie, *The Alps: a cultural history* (Oxford, 2006), 128.

²² NLI MS 3756, John Ladeveze Adlercron, Journal of a tour made ... in Russia by way of Denmark and Poland 1805. While the diary has been catalogued as 1805, this only reflects the start date of his extensive tour; he was in Russia in 1806–7.

²³ NLI MS 3757, George Ladeveze Adlercron, Diary of tours on the Continent, 1846–54.

²⁴ NLI MS 3758, George Ladeveze Adlercron, Diary of tours on the Continent and particulars of fishing at Waterville and Glencar, 1854–5.

Normandy in February 1817. An invoice places him back in Italy two months later, in April 1817, and two Italian passports indicate that he travelled from Naples to Milan in summer 1817. A French passport of 1819 stated that he was travelling from London to Calais, and permitted him to travel from Paris to Bordeaux on 10 October, but he was back in Paris by 10 November and appeared again in Calais two months later, on 20 January 1820.²⁵ He was back in Dublin by 1821 for his and Dorothea's marriage, and where their first child was born on 23 Nov. 1821.²⁶ The family remained stationary and resident in Dublin in 1821–6, indicated by John's attendance at weekly meetings of the Royal Dublin Society.²⁷ It appears that the family also remained in Ireland for a number of years following George's birth in 1834 (see *Table*).

On 3 July 1827, Dorothea and John's daughter Theodora Maria Louisa was born at Paris.²⁸ It is likely that the family remained in or around Paris until their departure from Sens (c. 100km south of Paris) for Switzerland on 20 May 1828. Their itinerary followed the River Yonne to Dijon, from where they continued southeast to cross the Jura Mountains into Geneva. While at Geneva they visited nearby towns and attractions such as Lausanne and Lake Léman. The journey itself took only one week, but the family seem to have remained at Geneva for about six months; Dorothea made no diary entries between 29 May and 9 October 1828.²⁹ The first seven pages of her diary list expenses on clothing, and the addresses of shops in the Italian cities of Padua, Venice and Verona, indicating that she may have used this notebook as an account book during another trip. Following the accounts and lists are 62 pages of diary entries detailing the journey (interrupted by scraps of accounting), and a little about their months in Geneva. Like John had done in Russia, Dorothea originally wrote her diary in pencil, parts of which were later written over in ink by one of their daughters. She missed her own family greatly while travelling, describing an emotional leave-taking of her father and sisters at Caen on 1 October 1842, five months after their mother's death. Indeed, it appears that the Rothes spent much of their time at Caen, with the deaths of Dorothea's nine-year-old brother in 1823,³⁰ and of her father, Abraham George Rothe, in 1846 both occurring there. Many entries were addressed to a 'dear Fan' – Dorothea's sister, Frances Rothe. It is worth suggesting that the diaries may have been at least partially intended as advice to friends or family members planning to make the same journeys, as Dorothea recorded the names of even the smallest post-stations at which they changed horses, and the names of many hotels along with their costs and the quality of their

²⁵ NLI MS 8730, Adlercron papers, Passports.

²⁶ Thanks to Ann Tierney for this information.

²⁷ Royal Dublin Society: members' database online.

²⁸ Theodora Maria Louisa was baptised in the British Embassy Chapel in Paris on 23 July 1827 (record available at www.familysearch.org).

²⁹ NLI MS 3763, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France and Switzerland.

³⁰ George Dames Burtchaell, 'The family of Rothe of Kilkenny (continued)' in *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, vol. 7, no. 68–9 (1887), 620–54, here 653.

service, meals and accommodation. She also wrote of missing 'my dear Sal and lazy Sam' – her sister, Anne Salisbury, and brother-in-law, Samuel White.³¹ While this detailed diary ends suddenly in October 1828, information taken from the family's passports usefully supplements the period up to April 1831. After spending some time in Geneva, the family travelled at leisure around Italy, visiting Florence, Rome and Bologna. In summer 1829, they were back in Switzerland again. One year later, they were back in Italy en route to France via Milan, Pisa and Genoa; they then spent six months in Nice.

The family's next journey to be narrated in part by Dorothea was that through France to Naples in 1842.³² This account occupies the first 88 pages of the 175-page notebook in which Dorothea also recorded another journey two years later. The family did not delay on this journey, the object of which seems to have been to reach Naples as quickly as possible – even during her time in Rome, Dorothea longed for Naples. They did not linger even at such celebrated cities as Aix or Marseille. Having set out from Caen on 1 October, the family arrived at Naples on the 27th of the same month. They travelled south from Caen to Tours, east to Bourges, and south-east to Lyon; and from there directly south to Avignon, Aix-en-Provence, and Marseille. They travelled by sea to Civitavecchia, Italy, and from thence to Rome, where they remained for nine days before going south to Naples.

The Ladeveze Adlercrons traversed Italy again in the summer of 1844. Eighteen months after recording their journey from Caen to Naples, Dorothea continued writing in the same notebook to record the journey from Naples to Bellinzona, Switzerland. They seem to have remained in Naples between October 1842 and 30 April 1844, when they departed for Switzerland. The family continued to travel in the same manner that they had previously, often sustaining themselves on their own provisions and very rapidly tracing their way northwards. They stopped at Rome, Florence, Bologna, Lake Garda and Lake Como before reaching Bellinzona on 2 June, where the diary ends. It was with low spirits that Dorothea picked up her pencil in 1844; her eldest son, John George (b. Nov. 1821), had died of a fever while on service in Bermuda in August 1843. The account opens with her thoughts on this change in her life, and her memories of her 'amiable soldier boy'.³³ The grieving mother found it difficult to enjoy any aspect of the journey without remembering how much her son had enjoyed it previously. While maintaining the same emphasis on details such as times, dates and places as she had in 1828 and 1842, in 1844 Dorothea rarely put pen to paper without also thinking of her lost son. These lengthy reminiscences and reflections reveal much more about Dorothea and her personality than her previous two accounts. While faith had always played an important part in her life, it appears by 1844 to have become her main support. In 1842

³¹ NLI MS 3763, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France and Switzerland, 26 May 1828. Anne Salisbury (d. 1880) married Colonel Samuel White (d. 1854) in Dublin in 1821.

³² NLI MS 3764, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland.

³³ NLI MS 3764, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland, 30 Apr. 1844.

her diary entries were peppered with short entreaties for safe travelling and thanksgiving for safe arrivals in each city – for example, ‘God’s mercies are manifold, praise be to Him for bringing us in health and joy and safety to the end of our long journey ... during our abiding in this land to testify by our actions our amazing love and gratitude to Him by devoting ourselves to his service’³⁴ – but in 1844 she deliberated frequently and deeply on nature, creation, and the effect of beauty on the human senses. While painful memories were re-awakened by certain places through which she had previously travelled with her son, she drew much comfort from the love for nature they had both shared. While her previous journeys had been filled with the everyday cares of obtaining fresh milk for the children and clean accommodation, the 1844 journey was filled with regret and grief. It appears that plans had been made for John George to join his parents and siblings for the 1844 tour,³⁵ and Dorothea simultaneously mourned the second anniversary of her own mother’s death in 1842.³⁶ The last journey the family are known to have made together as a unit was in 1846–7, recorded in 12-year-old George’s diary.³⁷ A passport dated August 1849 shows that John and George then travelled from Naples to England via Genoa and Milan.³⁸ This indicates that they continued on their familiar circuits of Western Europe for some time, and possibly up to John’s death in 1852, after which Dorothea and George travelled a little together.

Identity and foreign travel

I cannot tell you how happy we all feel here. I no longer feel as if I was in a foreign land, every thing in the house in the way of furniture and stoves etc is quite English and the country about here wears the same resemblance. I am sure I shall like Switzerland very much which I can never say for *la belle France*.³⁹

Eighteenth and nineteenth century critics of foreign travel cited alienation from one’s home culture and traditions as a risk arising from exposure to other cultures. However, the above quote indicates that any such fears were unnecessary in relation to the Ladeveze Adlercrons (or at least, in relation to Dorothea). She, like so many other travellers then and now, sought out the familiar comforts of home, even when travelling in relatively familiar Western Europe. She sought the maintenance of routine in choosing hotels known to her from previous visits. For example, at Mantua (Italy) she complained: ‘instead of going to our old friend La Fenice Charles chose to take us to the Aquila d’Oro, which rather annoyed me, however we got a tolerably good and

³⁴ NLJ MS 3764, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland, 27 Oct. 1842.

³⁵ NLJ MS 3764, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland, 26 May 1844.

³⁶ NLJ MS 3764, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland, 25 May 1844.

³⁷ NLJ MS 3757, Adlercron, Diary of tours on the Continent, 1846–54.

³⁸ NLJ MS 8730, Adlercron papers, Passports.

³⁹ NLJ MS 3763, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France and Switzerland, 28 May 1828.

clean apartment there’.⁴⁰ It is worth considering whether Dorothea’s relative dislike for France sprung from her natural conservatism – a mistrust of a country which had been embroiled in revolution within living memory? The author is reluctant to suggest that Dorothea’s personal religious beliefs influenced her dislike for predominantly Roman Catholic France, as she never made any direct criticisms of Catholicism, and made no comparable criticisms of Italy.

Indeed, Dorothea is just one example of the many contemporary Protestant travellers among Catholic populations who, perhaps contrary to our expectations, made few or no direct criticisms of that faith.⁴¹ In the period, Anglo-Irish and Irish identities were complex, defined not only by religion but also the more mutable and liminal parameters of class, language, politics, and the urban/rural divide. Religion, therefore, operated as just one of a range of factors involved in processes of identity formation. Travel is recognised in historical and literary scholarship as an important means of self-fashioning and identity formation from the Early Modern period onwards,⁴² and Anglo-Irish autobiography has been studied as attempts to assert their place in Irish society.⁴³ The study of travel and travel writing, therefore, is about more than tales of adventure, glamorous lifestyles, or ‘exceptional’ women; it can reveal much about how people shaped their own identities, or allowed their identities to be shaped by encounters with very different cultures. Travel facilitated the confirmation of identity by negation – that is, through confirming what the traveller knew herself *not* to be. Dorothea and her family prove rather elusive cases, as she reveals so little in her diaries and to some extent sheltered herself and her family from much close contact with locals in the regions through which they travelled. This sheltering can be revealing, however, as it in many ways defied the cosmopolitan spirit of the family’s relatively unconventional lifestyle. It is also worth noting Dorothea’s satisfaction with her ‘English’-style home and surroundings in Switzerland, expressed in the quote at the beginning of this section. This reflects the lack of distinction between ‘England’ and ‘Britain’ in the period, and indicates something more than a simple desire for ‘English’ surroundings. Dorothea sought both a homely familiarity – an extension of the family’s strategy of social sheltering – and accommodation reflective of the family’s social standing and their difference as foreigners in Switzerland.

⁴⁰ NLJ MS 3764, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland, 25 May 1844. Charles was a valet or other servant who probably travelled ahead of the family to organise their accommodation.

⁴¹ See, for example, Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in eighteenth-century England: a political and social study* (Manchester, 1993); Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (eds), *Protestantism and national identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650–c. 1850* (Cambridge, 1998).

⁴² See, for example, Buzard, *The beaten track*; Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous possessions: the wonder of the New World* (Oxford, 1991) and *Renaissance self-fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1984).

⁴³ See Elizabeth Grubgeld, *Anglo-Irish autobiography: class, gender, and the forms of narrative* (Syracuse, 2004); Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish and fíor-Ghael: studies in the idea of Irish nationality, its development and literary expression prior to the nineteenth century* (Amsterdam, 1986).

Travelling as a family

A particularly interesting aspect of these journeys is the theme of family and children. Dorothea and John had two sons and two daughters, with whom they travelled constantly.⁴⁴ Dorothea was evidently concerned that their itinerant lifestyle should have minimal negative impact on her children's education, purchasing English history books, French grammars, and workbooks in Switzerland.⁴⁵ Visits were made to galleries, museums, churches and other places of useful educational and cultural interest. However beneficial travel was thought to have been for young minds, Dorothea admitted that her children found more enjoyment in picking wildflowers in the Alps than in observing the architecture and culture of Europe's great cities;⁴⁶ they were also amused by experiencing different cultures and were 'delighted' with exotic Marseille, finding it 'lively and bustling, music continuously in the streets and Turks and Greeks in their natural costumes walking about.'⁴⁷ Dorothea herself found Marseille 'a fine town, beautiful wide and clean streets, and the shops displaying all the riches and luxuries of Paris and London.'⁴⁸

On a practical level, the children found Mediterranean heat and Alpine journeys difficult. Dorothea had some trouble making her children comfortable, particularly when it was necessary to sleep in the carriage due to the poor accommodation available in small towns and villages.⁴⁹ Her occasional notes that 'The children look charming fresh and weell [sic] this morning', or that they had slept well, hint that there may have been many other occasions when they did not.⁵⁰ Her ease in her travels is all the more surprising, given that at least one of her confinements occurred at the beginning of a prolonged period of travel – the birth of a daughter in Paris in July 1827. The practicalities of travelling with children were indeed matters of some concern, reflected in Dorothea's focus on the details of daily living throughout her diaries. She recorded her pleasure with the 'excellent coffee bread and butter and fresh eggs' served in some hotels, and her disgust with others: 'a horrible breakfast in a most wretched *gite*, bad coffee bad bread bad butter and bad eggs'.⁵¹ To counter the risk of being unable to source good food for her children, dry stores of tea, marmalade, bread, sugar and plum cake formed part of their luggage and these were drawn upon at the poorer stops, such

⁴⁴ Lieut John Ladeveze (20th Regt), b. Dublin 1821, d. Bermuda 1843; Theodora Maria Louisa, b. Paris 1827, d. 1848; Anne Salisbury Meliora (m. Sir Robert Milliken Napier), c. 1824–1902; and George Rothe Ladeveze (m. Aloyse Blanche Lilius de Blonay), 1834–84.

⁴⁵ NLI MS 3763, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France and Switzerland, 28 May 1828.

⁴⁶ NLI MS 3763, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France and Switzerland, 22 May 1828.

⁴⁷ NLI MS 3764, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland, 10 Oct. 1842. By 'natural', Dorothea means 'national'.

⁴⁸ NLI MS 3764, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland, 8 Oct. 1842.

⁴⁹ NLI MS 3763, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France and Switzerland, 26 May 1828.

⁵⁰ NLI MS 3763, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France and Switzerland, 22 May 1828; NLI MS 3764, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland, 11 Oct. 1842.

⁵¹ NLI MS 3764, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland, 6 Oct. 1842.

as when they found themselves at 'one of the most wretched dirty looking places I ever saw with the appellation of Hotel' in a village near Naples.⁵² Dorothea also enjoyed the assistance of three *domestiques* and an *institutrice* during the family's travels; one was named as Adele, and two others may have been the Saley and Martha named elsewhere in Dorothea's journal.⁵³

While Continental European travel was of great cultural and educational importance for the Irish and Anglo-Irish middle and upper ranks, as well as forming an expression of an individual's curious nature or their desire for new experiences, it could also often become a family tradition. The importance, usefulness and enjoyment of travelling was imparted to the next generation, as was the habit of keeping written records of journeys. Some children kept their own travel journals, whether in emulation of a parent or at a tutor's behest. Dorothea and John's son, George Rothe Adlercron, became, like his parents, a rather avid diary-writer and traveller who recorded his travels around Ireland and the Continent in eighteen diaries.⁵⁴ Even at the age of twelve, George appreciated the importance of keeping a diary and faithfully committed to paper the events of each day, even when by his own admission, 'it was very wet, so I have nothing particular to say'. When he had neglected his diary, he was careful to retrospectively fill in dates of arrival and departure from the cities through which they had passed in the interim.⁵⁵ Indeed, taking into consideration the Rothe presence at Caen, an intergenerational tradition of overseas travel and residence is strongly suggested.

Concluding remarks

The Ladeveze Adlercron family travels provide something of a microcosmic view of the meaning of Continental travel for landed Irish families in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Perhaps the Ladeveze Adlercrons are best considered as conservative cosmopolitans engaged in a never-ending search for contentment in a changing world. While there are gaps in the record of the family's movements, it is clear that they spent a great proportion of their lives actively engaged in the process of travelling, as opposed to having settled lives in any given city or cities for longer than a year or so. The joys Dorothea experienced in travelling – particularly high culture and Swiss scenery – were not enough to quell her apparent dissatisfaction with modernisation, and her grief for her lost son only compounded the exhausting nature of the circuit of tours in which she and her family were engaged for so long. She seems to have mistrusted modern modes of travel, feeling most unsafe aboard steam ships and writing of the disadvantages of rail

⁵² NLI MS 3764, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland, 26 Oct. 1842.

⁵³ NLI MS 8730, Adlercron papers, Passports; NLI MS 3764, Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland, 1 May 1844; 8 Oct. 1842.

⁵⁴ NLI, MSS 3757–3762, George Ladeveze Adlercron, Six small diaries of tours on the Continent and particulars of fishing at Waterville and Glencar, 1846–1870; NLI, MSS 3790–3801, George Ladeveze Adlercron, Diaries dealing with tours abroad and fishing holidays in Ireland, 1857–1881.

⁵⁵ NLI MS 3757, Adlercron, Diary of a tour on the Continent, 18 Aug.–29 Sept 1847; 2 Oct. 1847.

travel; another family with whom they were acquainted were also travelling in Italy at the time, and Dorothea noted with some pleasure that they would be forced to sleep nine hours 'en chemin', whereas she and her family would have 'the comfort of our own nice sheets tonight', 'rather a contrast to railroad travelling'.⁵⁶

What ought to have pleased her later in life is that her son, George, lived out a similar cosmopolitanism and love of travel in his adult life. His extant diaries recorded both childhood travels in Western Europe and gentlemanly fishing trips in Connemara and Kerry. He married Aloyse Blanche Lilius de Blonay (1847–1906) in Geneva in 1871, where their daughter was born, maintained an address at Killiney, Dublin,⁵⁷ and died at Leamington, UK. It is likely that his own life's record of travelling and travel writing was a result of his early experiences of extensive travel and the normalisation of travel as a way of life. George's valuable diaries also provide some insight into Dorothea's later years, particularly during her last documented tour (Lausanne to Simmental, July 1854). During this rather short tour, middle-aged Dorothea appears to have become even more cautious. George referred to having to 'induce' her to take a day trip into the mountains, her fussiness in finding suitable accommodation, and her complaints about the climate.⁵⁸ Her apparent dissatisfaction with their circumstances and the many difficulties she experienced during the family's many tours once more prompt the question: why did the family travel so much, and why did they continue to do so even into John and Dorothea's later years? Despite revealing her grief in her 1844 diary, Dorothea unfortunately never shared the reason for their peregrinatory lives. Perhaps this in itself reveals something – the normalisation of travel by an Irishwoman whose family lived in Caen and whose children were all but raised in the inns of France, Italy and Switzerland. While previously described as 'of Moyglare', the Ladeveze Adlercron may perhaps be better described as 'of the world'.

Summary of known travels of John and Dorothea Ladeveze Adlercron and family

| Date | Location |
|-----------------|---|
| 1802 | France (John Ladeveze Adlercron – hereafter JLA) |
| 1805–07 | Russia, Alexandria, Constantinople, Denmark, Sweden (JLA) |
| June 1816 | Paris, possibly on to Italy (JLA) |
| Feb 1817 | Dieppe (Normandy) (JLA) |
| April 1817 | Italy (JLA) |
| May – June 1817 | Naples – Milan (JLA) |
| Oct – Nov 1819 | London – Paris – Bordeaux – Paris (JLA) |
| January 1820 | Calais (JLA) |

⁵⁶ Adlercron, Diary of a tour in France, Italy and Switzerland, 27 Apr. 1844.

⁵⁷ *The Times*, 12 Feb. 1883.

⁵⁸ MS 3758, Adlercron, Diary of tours on the Continent, 3 July 1854, 10 July 1854, 5 Aug. 1854.

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| July 1827 | Paris (family) |
| May – Oct 1828 | Sens (France) – Geneva (family) |
| Nov 1828 | Florence (family) |
| Feb–May 1829 | Rome, Bologna (family) |
| Summer 1829 | Switzerland (family) |
| April 1830 | Milan, Pisa, Genoa (family) |
| Oct 1830–April 1831 | Nice (family) |
| Oct 1842 | Caen (L. Normandy) – Naples (family) |
| April – June 1844 | Naples – Bellinzona (Switz.) (family) |
| 1846–7 | Low Countries, German states (family) |
| Aug 1849 | Naples – England (JLA & George Rothe Adlercron) |
| 1854 | Switzerland (Dorothea Catherine Ladeveze Adlercron & George Rothe Adlercron) |

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Dr Angela Byrne, Lecturer in History, University of Greenwich, UK

Dr Byrne was awarded a PhD in History at National University of Ireland Maynooth in 2009 for the thesis, 'The Irish in Russia, 1690–1815: Travel, Gender and Self-Fashioning'. She has published articles on eighteenth and nineteenth century Irish and Anglo-Irish travels in Russia and Europe, and Irish soldiers in Russian service. She has also published on eighteenth and nineteenth century British science in the Arctic and sub-Arctic: *Geographies of the Romantic North: Science, Antiquarianism, and Travel 1790–1830* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

email: a.byrne@gre.ac.uk